DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 212 173 FL 012 779

AUTHOR Narvaez, Dabney
TITLE Sharing Social Meaning in the Bilingual Classroom: A Study of Requests.
INSTITUTION National Council of Teachers of English, Urbana, Ill. Research Foundation.
PUB DATE Apr 81
NOTE 25p.; Paper presented at the AERA Annual Meeting (Los Angeles, CA, April 1981).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingual Education; *Classroom Communication; Communicative Competence (Languages); *Discourse Analysis; *English (Second Language); Nonverbal Communication; Preschool Children; Preschool Education; *Second Language Learning; *Spanish Speaking; Student Teacher Relationship

ABSTRACT

This paper describes how two four-year-old children who are becoming bilingual (Spanish and English) make requests in the classroom. Emerging patterns include: (1) a tendency to rely more heavily on requests for action and attention then requests for information and permission, (2) a tendency to make requests of peers more frequently than of teachers, (3) overall competence in making requests of most types in both languages with one language favored depending upon playmates and activities, (4) discourse patterns for the children were different in each language, and (5) a high level of success by both children in making requests in both languages with teachers and peers. Judging from the children's strong reliance on certain request types more than others, it appears that for children becoming bilingual, certain requests may be more useful or needed in carrying on classroom conversation. In addition, the results suggest that very young second language speakers quickly learn to make the distinction between teacher talk and peer talk not only in their native language, but also in their second language. (JK)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED212173

SHARING SOCIAL MEANING IN THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM: A STUDY OF REQUESTS*

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Dabney Narvaez
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Dabney Narvaez

New York University

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Paper presented at the A.E.R.A. Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, California, April 1981

---

*This research was supported in part by a grant from the National Council of Teachers of English Research Foundation.

FL012779

Recent studies have shown the value of analyzing the conversations of children in bilingual classrooms as a means of understanding the nature and extent of their communicative competence (Carrasco, 1981; Erickson et al, 1980; Rodriguez-Brown et al, 1976). A recurring insight in this work is that the ways that language minority children use language to accomplish particular social functions in the classroom in both rule-governed and culturally specific. It has also shown that these children will use language with teachers and other children with a similar cultural and linguistic background which is qualitatively different from their talk with other members of the classroom.

The findings presented in this paper are part of a larger study of children's communicative competence in a bilingual early childhood classroom.[1] This report focuses on a description of how two Spanish-speaking children, both of them in the initial productive stages of speaking English as a second language, accomplish a particular social and linguistic function, that is, requests. A request is defined as any category of move, act, or function which is accomplished through the use

---

[1] See also Volk, D. "Turn Allocation: The Construction of Conversations in the Bilingual Classrrom". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Los Angeles, Ca, 1981.

of language with the purpose of soliciting action, information, permission or attention.

More specifically this study addressed three sets of questions relating to how children in the early stages of becoming bilingual make requests in the classroom. The first set of questions had to do with the immediate contextual variables that bear on requestive language, that is, who did the child make the request to, another child or a teacher? What language did the child use, Spanish or English? And finally, and most importantly, what was the child trying to accomplish in making the request? In the analysis of the data, four kinds of request types emerged: 1) requests for action, 2) requests for information, 3) requests for permission, and 4) requests for attention. (Examples of each request type are shown in Table 1.)

The second set of questions emerged as a consequence of the first. Because the focus of the study was on the social purposes of the children's requests, it was useful to go beyond a consideration of the immediate circumstances around each request and look at how requests were accomplished across turns of conversation. It was assumed that not only the immediate utterance but the whole chunk of conversation within which the child made a request would take on a special quality owing to the linguistic and cultural background of the children. As with the first set of questions, the interest was in searching for patterns;

Table 1

Examples of Request Types

Type:	Example:	Translation:
Action request	Javier: [trying to get balloon game going, looks at Marge, points across the room] call Bernardo. Marge: Bernardo, you wanna play? [gestures with thumb towards Javier]	
Attention request	Javier: [calling out colors of balloon game to other players] anaranjada! anaranjada mira! [reaches toward Pepe] anaranjada. Betty: hurry. orange. [points to the balloon pieces]	Javier: orange! look orange! orange.
Permission request	Blanca: [whispering to Miguel with her finger to mouth] dejame llevar esto. para-que no se da cuenta y yo te voy a poner pronto. [puts fire hat on Oscar] hey you wear hat. Oscar: no. I don't wanna. [throws hat on the floor] I--I'm the police.	Blanca: let me wear this. so he doesn't notice and I'll put it on you right away.
Information request	Blanca: [taking cardboard piece from purse to show to Yolanda] Yolanda. que es esto? Yolanda: eso es. para que la cartera haga un--ay! para que la cartera puede pararse. see? [shows Blanca how the purse can sit on the table]	Blanca: Yolanda. What's this Yolanda: that's so--so the purse has a--so the purse can stand up.

in this case, how did the children accomplish requests across turns?

The third question was related to how successful the children were in getting other members of the classroom, teachers and children, to understand their requests. As researchers and participant observers in the classroom, we were aware that there were moments when the children in our study attempted to make a request during the course of their conversations in the classroom, and that for some reason--and the reasons were of special interest to us--the request was not communicated to their speech partner. In the vocabulary of the research, these requests became known as unshared requests. As we discovered instances of these requests we became interested in finding out whether or not they happened frequently in the course of the children's conversations. Given the fact that they were newcomers both to the classroom and to English as a second language, it seemed likely that they would be fairly frequent. We were also interested in understanding the circumstances around the occurrence of unshared requests, that is, why did they happen? Did it seem to be a result of the children's use of language? Or were there other factors involved which prevented the request from being communicated effectively?

Setting and Subjects

The setting for the study was a Headstart Center located in an integrated, predominantly Hispanic neighborhood of

Manhattan. In the target classroom of three and four-year olds, about a third of the children were Spanish dominant bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals, a third English monolinguals, and a third English dominant bilinguals. Since both teachers were bilingual, English and Spanish were spoken in the classroom, though English tended to predominante. No formal language instruction was given in the classroom.

The four subjects for the larger study were chosen for two reasons; first, because their linguistic and social development was judged normal by teachers and parents; second, because they began the year with little productive knowledge of English, allowing us to study them in the initial stages of becoming bilingual.

The two subjects who are the focus of this paper were just four at the time of the taping. Blanca and Javier were born in this country of Dominican and Puerto Rican parents, respectively. They both had spent time living in those countries. Both families spoke Spanish at home, though some family members were quite proficient in English.

While Blanca showed an interest in English from the beginning, she played primarily with a group of Spanish speaking girls in the housekeeping corner. On most occasions Blanca organized these activities, assigned roles, and played mother.

Javier spent the first four months of school systematically avoiding English. If he were sitting at a table alone, and English dominant children approached the table, he would drift away or even get under the table and sit for a while to avoid talking in English. After an initial period like this, he

gradually began to seek out English speakers as playmates. Though he spent some time playing alone, he would often organize games and dramatic play situations in which he and other bilingual boys would speak English with occasional switches into Spanish.

Methodology

The data collection and analysis for the study involved an adaptation of ethnographic techniques developed by Erickson in his work with Shultz (1981) and with Carrasco, Cazden, and Maldonado-Guzman (1980). During the last school year, the researchers became participant observers in the classroom, watching and taking notes for approximately one day a week. In June and July of that year, the four subjects were video and audiotaped in the classroom at times when observations indicated they would be talking the most with others. A total of four hours was taped for each child.

In addition, information on the context beyond the classroom was collected by talking with parents at school and at home and by interviewing the school staff.

Finished tapes were logged and conversations were identified and transcribed. All instances of requests were indexed. Each request was coded by request type, language choice, and speech partner. Individual requests were tallied and each was studied in order to determine its relationship to the conversation which preceded and followed it. Emerging patterns of requests were noted in one conversation or tape, then others were reviewed to see if the patterns held across instances.

The findings discussed below are based on an intensive analysis of two half-hour videotapes in combination with a general review of the other fifteen hours of tape and the field notes taken during participant observations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For both children the total number of requests in relation to other kinds of utterances made during the freeplay time was high, approximately one out of every three. This coincides with findings of previous studies which have shown that requests are both very common in young children's language (Ervin-Tripp, 1970) and meaningful in their language choice in bilingual classrooms (McClure, 1978).

Type and Frequency of Requests

As indicated in Table 2, Javier made about twice as many requests as Blanca. For both children, requests for action were the most common request type (55% of their total requests) followed by requests for attention (29%), requests for information (11%), and requests for permission (5%). The fact that Blanca and Javier used such a large percentage of their requests to get other members of the classroom to do things is not surprising since both were very active, sociable children with a lot of leadership ability. The freeplay time was a time when the children were given a fairly free rein in the class room, and both Blanca and Javier took advantage of the opportunity

Table 2

Request Type by Speech Partner

	Javier			Blanca			Combined
	Teacher	Child	Total	Teacher	Child	Total	
Action	15(14%)	38(36%)	53(50%)	1(2%)	34(60%)	35(62%)	88(55%)
Attention	8(8%)	26(25%)	34(32%)	1(2%)	12(21%)	13(23%)	47(29%)
Information	14(13%)	0(0%)	14(13%)	2(4%)	2(4%)	4(8%)	18(11%)
Permission	3(2%)	1(1%)	4(4%)	1(2%)	3(5%)	4(7%)	8(5%)
TOTAL	40(38%)	65(62%)	105(100%)	5(10%)	51(90%)	56(100%)	161(100%)

Table 3

Request Type by Language Used

	Javier		Blanca		Combined	
	English	Spanish	English	Spanish	English	Spanish
Action	28(27%)	25(24%)	7(12%)	28(50%)	35(22%)	53(33%)
Attention	32(30%)	2(2%)	5(9%)	8(15%)	37(23%)	10(6%)
Information	11(10%)	3(3%)	0(0%)	4(7%)	11(7%)	7(4%)
Permission	0(0%)	4(4%)	0(0%)	4(7%)	0(0%)	8(5%)
TOTAL	71(67%)	34(33%)	12(21%)	44(79%)	83(52%)	78(48%)
	105		56		161	

in initiating a wide variety of play activities. They actively worked to involve other children, organizing their play once they became involved.

The high frequency of the children's requests for attention seemed to be a natural outgrowth of their frequent requests for action. For example, Javier, in getting other children to participate in a board game, used the request "wait" again and again to keep the action of the game flowing in the way he wanted it to. Blanca used a large number of requests for attention at the beginning of her conversations in the house corner to single herself out for a particular role before moving on to assign roles to the other children.

The infrequency of requests for information and permission in the data seemed to be related to the fact that they were most commonly used in this classroom in talk with teachers. Blanca and Javier chose to engage themselves mostly in activities that were child-centered. They would turn to teachers only occasionally when they needed to clarify something that was happening in the classroom, or to get some help in a dispute, or to gain a few words of reassurance and approval. In other words, for these children, the real work performed by talk was not with teachers, but with other children, and not in requests for information or permission but in requests for action and attention. (Related findings have been reported in other studies in bilingual classrooms, notably a study of teacher unawareness of the communicative competence of a Chicana child done by Carrasco in 1979.)

In addition to the points of similarity in the children's requests, there were also some striking contrasts. For example, in relation to the language being used, Javier and Blanca differed markedly in their choice of Spanish and English in making particular types of requests (Table 3). Javier used English and Spanish about equally in making requests for action, but English substantially more often than Spanish when requesting information or attention. This may be explained by the fact that he tended to turn to the English-dominant teacher to get answers to his information needs, while turning to the Spanish-dominant teacher more for emotional support, encouragement, and comfort. Also, in playing the board game with a mixed group of English and Spanish speakers, Javier would use formulaic attention-getters like "wait" and "lookee" because there were more children in his group who would understand them in English than in Spanish. Blanca, on the other hand, used Spanish predominantly in making requests for action. She used English and Spanish equally in her requests for attention, and only Spanish for requests for information and permission.

Interestingly, while both children showed themselves capable of making most types of requests in both languages, they differed in their attraction to particular social activities in the classroom, which, in turn necessitated their using different amounts of Spanish and English. Language choice was not a reflection of language deficiencies, but a display of communicative competence as each child adjusted requests to fit the particular social context which they helped create and in which they participated.

These, then, were the patterns that emerged from the first stage of the analysis: 1) The children tended to use requests for action and attention much more than requests for permission and information. 2) They showed a strong tendency to direct more of their requests to peers than to teachers. 3) There were differences between Blanca and Javier in the amounts of Spanish and English they used in making the various types of requests. These differences in language choice resulted more from their preferences in engaging certain playmates, rather than in differences in their linguistic abilities in each language.

Discourse Patterns

For this part of the analysis, all of the requests made by each child were analyzed to determine which had been successfully communicated, or 'shared', and which ones were not. A 'shared' request was defined as a request which appeared to be understood by the speech partner, whether or not it was complied with. For example the following request was coded as shared. Javier's friend Bernardo didn't go along with what Javier was asking him, but he clearly had gotten the social message of the request:

Javier: [while playing the board game] I want turn! [looks toward teacher as though hoping she'll intervene]
Bernardo: [sitting at table with Javier, playing board game] I didn't have my turn. [pats chest, shakes head no] you have a turn already.

In contrast, the following is an example of a request made by Javier which went unshared:

Table 4

Discourse Patterns

Pattern A	Adjacency pair: verbal request--verbal response	Child makes a request in one turn which is followed by an appropriate verbal response from the speech partner in the next turn. (Transaction of the request completed in two turns.)
Pattern B	Adjacency pair: verbal request--nonverbal response	Child makes a request in one turn which is followed by an appropriate nonverbal response from the speech partner in the next turn. (Transaction of the request completed in two turns.)
Pattern C	Verbal request--delayed response	Child makes a request in one turn. There are intervening turns after which the speech partner makes an appropriate verbal or nonverbal response to the request.
Pattern D	Cooperative request	Child makes a request cooperatively with another speech partner over several turns after which the speech partner makes an appropriate verbal or nonverbal response to the request.
	Unshared request	Child makes a request in one turn. The speech partner gives no apparent verbal or nonverbal response or gives an inappropriate response.

[children are nearing the end of the balloon game]

Pepe: me finish. [gets up as though to leave]
Javier: you no finish? you finish?
Pepe: [looks at board, turns away without looking at Javier, walks off]

What was immediately striking from this application of a shared/unshared criterion was the large number of requests by both children which were socially successful: 82% of Javier's requests and 81% of Blanca's.[1] These would seem impressive percentages for an adult population, even more so for children who are in the early stages of first language development and the initial stage of acquiring a second language.

Taking the analysis further, there were four basic discourse patterns that recurred in the children's shared requests in English and Spanish. The remainder of this paper will deal with a description of these patterns, and conclude with a brief discussion of the exceptions, the unshared requests.

In Table 4, brief descriptions are provided of the four patterns. Table 5 shows how these patterns, all of which represent shared requests, and the unshared requests were distributed in relation to the total number of requests. The first two patterns were defined in relation to the concept of adjacency pairs following Schegloff and Sacks (1973) and Benoit (1980): a structured unit of conversation consisting of two turns at talk or utterances which are adjacent and

---

[1] The distinction between shared/unshared was very difficult to apply consistently to requests for attention, so for this part of the analysis they are not included.

Table 5

Distribution of Discourse Patterns

by Subject

	Javier		Blanca		Combined	
	% of total attempts	% of Shared	% of total attempts	% of Shared	% of total attempts	% of Shared
Pattern A Verbal-verbal	18 (25%)	(31%)	7(16%)	(20%)	25(22%)	(27%)
Pattern B Verbal-nonverbal	23 (32%)	(40%)	14(32%)	(40%)	37(32%)	(40%)
Pattern C Verbal-delayed	10 (14%)	(17%)	9(21%)	(26%)	19(17%)	(20%)
Pattern D Cooperative	7 (11%)	(12%)	5(12%)	(14%)	12(11%)	(13%)
TOTAL SHARED	58 (82%)	(100%)	35(81%)	(100%)	93(82%)	(100%)
Unshared	13 (18%)		8(19%)		21(18%)	
TOTAL REQUESTS	71 (100%)		43(100%)		114(100%)	

produced by different speakers. Although there has been a tendency in previous studies to lump together adjacency pairs involving both verbal and nonverbal responses, for the purpose of this study they were considered as two distinct patterns. Pattern A, that is, requests that involved adjacency pairs with verbal responses accounted for 22% of the children's total requests. This pattern occurred with equal frequency with teachers and peers, and in English and Spanish. The following is an example:

		translation	
Carol	/comes over to where Blanca is standing, holds up fingers/en dos minutos vamos a limpiar.	Carol:	in two minutes we're gonna clean up.
Blanca:	y nos--y nos--y nos--y nos vamos para fuera?	Blanca:	and we're--and we're--and we're--and we're-and we're going outside?
Carol:	/nods head/sí. nos vamos para fuera también.	Carol:	yes. we're going outside too/

The second pattern (Pattern B), adjacency pairs involving nonverbal responses, accounted for the largest portion of the data (32% of total combined requests). In addition to being the most numerous, this pattern was also found to be most frequently occurring in Spanish. This finding was consistent with previous research which has shown the significant role that nonverbal gesture plays in the conversations of Spanish-speaking children (Nine-Curt, 1976). The following is an example of this second pattern:

		translation:	
Blanca:	aaa. la niña es sucia. ay. todo eso está sucia. /points to doll's hair/ lávasela. /looks at Felicidad/	Blanca:	aaa. the baby's dirty. ay. all that's dirty. wash her.
Felicidad:	/smiles, nods, begins to wash doll's hair/		

The third pattern (Pattern C) which emerged was one which was called the verbal request/delayed response pattern. In this pattern the child would make a request in one turn, then several turns would intervene in which no response to the request was given, then later in the conversation, the intended speech partner would respond appropriately either verbally or nonverbally. For example, at one point Blanca attempted to lead her group of friends on an expedition across the classroom to buy an imaginary birthday cake for their dolls. She summoned them with a martial "pues vamos! ven!" (so let's go! c'mon!). The girls made motions to go off with Blanca, but Yolanda, the Spanish-dominant teacher, intervened asking if the girls wanted her to take care of their dolls while they were away. After several more turns of conversation with Yolanda about the dolls, Blanca headed off. Without any additional requests, the other girls followed her.

Other examples such as this one also show by means of the children's subsequent behavior that requests were often made and attended to despite intervening turns in an extended conversation. Like the adjacency pair pattern involving nonverbal responses, this kind of delayed timing was more characteristic of requests in Spanish with Spanish-dominant speech partners than in English with English-dominant speech partners. It seemed to happen with equal frequency when Blanca and Javier were speaking with peers and with teachers.

A fourth pattern (Pattern D), the cooperative request, is a request performed by a child and speech partner over at least three turns. The following is an example of a cooperative request

in which Javier asked Marge, an English monolingual aide, to help him get a toy down from the shelf:

Javier: I want that. [points to top of shelf three times]
Marge: you want the instrument to play? [reaches towards shelf]
Javier: no that.
Marge: this? [shows toy]
Javier: no. [shakes head no]
Marge: (let's see)//
Javier: //yes// [nods yead yes]
Marge: //know what this is called? tinker toys. [reaches for toy]
Javier: toys. no. [shakes head, points across the room] that no. the balloo the balloo the balloon one.
Marge: the balloon game.

For both Javier and Blanca cooperative requests like this one in which the children and their speech partners worked together to get the request communicated verbally over several turns were the least frequent pattern. They accounted for only 11% of the children's total requests. When they did occur, it was interesting to find that more often than not it was with teachers and in English. This may be explained by the tendency of the teachers to maintain conversations in English by repeating or rephrasing what the children said to them. The teachers were keenly aware that the children were beginning English speakers. As a consequence they would help the children to verbalize their desires in the unfamiliar language by using this repeat/rephrase strategy.

Unshared requests

As indicated previously, the number of shared requests for both children far outnumbered the ones that were unshared (82% of their combined total requests). The two children had almost the same frequency of unshared requests (19% for Blanca; 18% for Javier).

The largest number of unshared requests were made to children who appeared to be unaware or to totally ignore the fact that a request had been made. Sometimes the request was made to a person who was already talking to someone else. Sometimes they were made when the other person was deeply engrossed in another activity. Often the person to whom the request was made was busily making a request back, so that the first request was interrupted, and for that reason unshared.

Unshared requests happened with equal frequency in English and Spanish. That is, they didn't seem to be related to the child's competence in one language compared to the other. The few instances of unshared requests that did seem in one way or another related to competence in English and Spanish were of three kinds. First, there were moments when Javier and Blanca would try to make a request in English, but the request would go unshared because the children would do for themselves whatever it was that they were asking of their speech partners. This was before their speech partners had a chance to do it. During the board game, for instance, Javier asked a child to give him a playing card in English, then grabbed the card, as though disbelieving that his spoken words alone would get the message across. Blanca, too, had the habit of fulfilling for herself the requests that she had directed to others in English.

A second cause of unshared requests was due to Javier's and Blanca's attempts to switch languages in the middle of an utterance. There were numerous instances when the children alternated languages between turns and between conversations

in ways which kept the social meaning of their conversations flowing, but when they switched in mid-utterance both to teachers and peers there were communication breakdowns. In the following example, Blanca began in English, then switched to Spanish to complete her request. Miguel, who is a Spanish-dominant child, looked confused and turned away to play with another child:

		translation:
Blanca:	I gotta these. /refers to her costume, looks at self in mirror, sees Miguel standing behind her, turns to him/	
	you go (put hat) cogelo.	you go (put hat) take it.
Miguel:	/looks quizzical, points to hat, wanders off/	

Another language-related cause for breakdowns in the sharing of requests occurred when the children used a language which their speech partner didn't speak at all or spoke very little. When this happened, it wasn't surprising that the request went unshared. However, these instances were noteworthy for their scarcity. Most of the time the children demonstrated remarkable awareness of the appropriate language to choose in making a request of a particular member of the classroom.

SUMMARY

This paper has described how two children who are becoming bilingual accomplish the social and linguistic task of making requests in their classroom. Because the study is at a midpoint in its completion the findings are necessarily tentative. In brief, the patterns which are emerging include the following:

1) A tendency in both children to rely more heavily on requests for action and attention than requests for information and permission;

2) A tendency in both children to make requests of their peers much more frequently than of teachers;

3) Overall competence displayed by both children in making requests of most types in both languages. The children favored one language over the other depending upon preferred playmates and activities. The preferred language differed for each child;

4) Discourse patterns for the two children were different in Spanish and English. In conversations in Spanish, there was a greater tendency towards requests which were followed by a nonverbal response and requests for which the response was delayed across several turns in conversation. In conversations in English, the tendency was of frequent adjacency pairs and a cooperative making of the request by the child and his/her speech partner

5) A high level of successfulness by both children in making requests in both languages, and with teachers and peers.

Various insights of both a practical and research-related nature are suggested by this study's progress and findings to date. Judging from the children's strong reliance on certain request types more than others, it appears that for children becoming bilingual, certain requests may be more useful or needed in carrying on classroom conversations. Blanca and Javier demonstrated linguistic/social competence in making most request types, but used requests for attention and action much more frequently than other types. The issue for them was not whether they were able to make certain requests, but whether or not the requests were useful to them as classroom participants.

Most of the opportunities that the children in this study

took to make requests, both in English and Spanish, came in their conversations with children, not teachers. Beyond the difference in quantity, requests to peers and teachers varied in their purpose and in the particular discourse strategies that the children used. This suggests that very young second language speakers quickly learn to make the distinction between teacher talk and peer talk not only in their native language, but in their second language as well. Prior studies have reported how bilingual children develop a multi-track bilingual/bicultural ability to enter into classroom conversations in ways which are socially appropriate. This study extends that finding to apply to very young children and children who are in the earliest stage of classroom contact with a second language.

From its original focus on single utterances as the unit of analysis, this study was expanded to a consideration of requestive strategies across turns, within the framework of larger chunks of conversational interaction. This broadened analysis made possible a description of successfulness which takes into account both the response of the speech partner to the request and the tendency in natural conversation for requests to be made over various turns in conversation. This approach is recommended both from a research perspective as a means of gaining insight into the accomplishment of the social functions of language by children, and from a teaching perspective for use in the much needed assessment of communicative competence in bilingual children.

References

Benoit, P. Structural coherence production in the conversations of preschool children. Paper given at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, New York, 1980.

Boggs, S.R. The meaning of questions and narratives to Hawaiian children. In C.B. Cazden, V. John, and D. Hymes (Eds.), Functions of language in the classroom, New York: Teachers College Press, 1972.

Carrasco, R., Vera, A., and Cazden, C. Aspects of bilingual students' communicative competence in the classroom: a case study. In R. Duran (Ed.), Latino language and communicative behavior. Discourse processes: advances in research and theory (Vol. 4). Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing, 1981.

Dore, J. Children's illocutionary acts. In R. Freedle (Ed.) Advances in discourse processes (Vol. 1). Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing: 1977.

Dore, J. Requestive systems in nursery school conversations: analysis of talk in its social context. In R. Campbell and P.T. Smith (Eds.), Recent advances in the psychology of language: language development and mother-child interaction (Series no. 3). New York: Plenum Press, 1978.

Erickson, F. and Shultz, J. When is a context?: some issues and methods in the analysis of social competence. In J. Green and C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnographic approaches to face-to-face interaction. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1981.

Erickson, F., Carrasco, R., Cazden, C., and Maldonado-Guzman, A. Social and cultural organization of interaction in classrooms of bilingual children: Second Year Progress Report. Washington DC: National Institute of Education, Teaching and Learning Division, 1980.

Ervin-Tripp, S. Discourse agreement: how children answer questions. In J.R. Hayes, (Ed.), Cognition and the development of language. New York: John Wiley, 1970/

Fillmore, L.W. The second time around: cognitive and social strategies in second language acquisition. Unpublished dissertation, Stanford University, 1976.

Garcia, E.E. and Carrasco, R., An analysis of bilingual mother-child discourse. In R. Duran (Ed.), Latino language and communicative behavior. Discourse processes: advances in research and theory (Vol. 4). Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing, 1981.

Genishi, C. Rules for code-switching in young Spanish-English speakers: an exploratory study of language socialization. Unpublished dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1976.

Philips, S. Participant structures and communicative competence: Warm Springs children in community and classroom. In C. Cazden (Ed.), Functions of language in the classroom. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972.

McClure, E. Teacher-pupil questions and responses and the Mexican-American child. The Bilingual Review, 1978, 5, 40-44.

Mehan, H. "What time is it, Denise?": Some observations on the organization and consequences of asking known information questions in classroom discourse, Theory into Practice, 18, (4), 1979.

Mishler, E.G. Studies in dialogue and discourse: Types of discourse initiated and sustained through questioning. Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, 1975, 4, 99-121.

Nine-Curt, J. Nonverbal communication. Bronx, N.Y.: Northeast Center for Curriculum and Development, National Assessment and Dissemination Center, Title VII, 1976.

Rodriguez-Brown, et al. Language interaction in a bilingual classroom: an observational study. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, Ill., 1976.

Sanchez-Chapellin, J. A study of Spanish request forms in classroom situation. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1980.

Schegloff, E.A. and Sacks, N. Opening up closings. Semiotica, 1973, 8 (4), 289-327.

Walters, J. Variation of language use in the language acquisition of bilingual children. Unpublished dissertation, Boston University, 1978.

Wood, B.S. and Gardner, R. How children get their way: directives in communication. Communication Education, 1980, 29, 264-272.